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at the same time should be in party accord, and the force of party organization should compel them to act in harmony. Against these two powers the senate would be impotent except in its constitutional function of an advisory body. Hold the president and his party responsible to the platform upon which they were elected, giving to the executive the political leadership which, as the representative of the popular will he has a right to demand, and a presidential democracy will result, a type of the future governments of the world. In this government two features will be prominent, an executive, responsible to party and to people, formulating the general outlines of legislative policy and a congress regulating the details of the measures proposed and furnishing a check upon presidential action because of its more frequent election. This government in the author's opinion is superior to a parliamentary democracy, in that the prime minister as well as his followers will be directly responsible to the people and can be checked by them if necessary at the expiration of two years. Not parliamentary government based on a system of classes but presidential government supported by popular representation is the ideal which Mr. Ford sees in our perfected system, and it is in realizing this ideal that he sees the political mission of the United States.

C. H. LINCOLN.

Philadelphia.

The Referendum in Switzerland. By SIMON DEPLOIGE. Pp. 322. Price, 7s. 6d. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898.

"*Le Referendum en Suisse*" was originally issued in Brussels in 1892, and now appears in English under the auspices of the London School of Economics, whose series embraces a considerable number of very useful books. M. Deploige's work is a thorough and complete account of the referendum and the initiative, those two interesting Swiss institutions which have lately claimed so much attention from political students, at least in centres of investigation west of Germany. In countries where the representative system is itself not yet very secure in its seat, the public mind is indifferent to the worth of an institution which goes to such radical lengths on the way toward unchecked democracy.

The agitation of the referendum when the constitution of Belgium was revised is responsible for this investigation by a Belgian jurist. He has carefully traced the history of the referendum's development in Switzerland and adds not a little to our knowledge concerning the origin of democratic forms in the Alpine cantons. With the purpose of obtaining practical knowledge of his subject, he visited Switzerland and interviewed many men of many minds.

The Swiss are by no means unanimous in their praises of the referendum and there are many who think that a step much too far forward was taken when the initiative was introduced lately in federal matters. Though this only refers to constitutional amendments, the Swiss, like the American legislator, does not hesitate to make the constitution a depository for odds and ends of legislation. In Switzerland, as elsewhere, there are those who think that the people can do no wrong, and those who are convinced that desirable results in legislation as in most things else can only come on the initiation and with the collaboration of men of superior intelligence and ability, of which there are unfortunately too few in any of our human communities. We cannot see that M. Deploige has brought much that is new or definite to bear upon this broader sociological phase of a great subject. His work is the most satisfactory treatment by a foreigner of this special branch of Swiss politics and public law. At this time when English and French writers as well as our own are interesting themselves more and more in referenda and plebiscites as a means of giving better direction to the state, we cannot but feel grateful to the author for his painstaking work.

What will be our limit in law-making by popular vote it is at this moment difficult to say. The tendency is now distinctly toward the enlargement of this popular privilege, yet the people as a whole, appreciate it much less than we might expect, although in America the leaders of a political party, the Populists' have lately made it one of the tenets in their creed. South Dakota at the autumn elections in 1898 voted to add an amendment to the constitution of that state which introduces both the referendum and the initiative by name, and in the Swiss form, 5 per cent "of the qualified electors of the state" having it in their power to demand a vote upon any subject. The new charter of the city of San Francisco lately framed by a Board of Freeholders provides for the referendum in respect to city matters; and Nebraska is trying to acclimate the system in counties and other local governmental districts. These are recent extensions of legislation by direct vote of the people in this country, and have come in as a result of late studies in Swiss politics to supplement our own natural development along this line, which, as is well known, has been made to include constitutions, constitutional amendments and many classes of state and local laws, a not unnatural outgrowth of our own folk-mote and town meeting in New England.

Although laws and amendments submitted to the people are voted on as a rule at the same elections in which governors and other

state officers are chosen, and on the same ballots, only about five in every ten of those who put their crosses on the tickets for candidates take the trouble to express themselves on the subject of legislative measures submitted to them. In an amendment to a banking law submitted in Illinois in 1898 only about one man in five had enough interest to say yes or no on the point. Our experience here corresponds in the main with the condition of affairs which M. Deploige has found to exist in Switzerland, though they have compulsory voting in some of the cantons, and on the whole the results measured from the point of view of the number of electors participating in the referenda seem there to be far better.

The book is preceded by a letter on the referendum in Belgium by Professor M. J. van den Heuvel, of the University of Louvain, which, however, adds little to the argument. The translation has been made by C. P. Trevelyan, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. The text has been edited with notes, introduction and appendices by Miss Lilian Tomn, of Girton College, Cambridge, herself an interesting and well-informed writer on the referendum. Her notes, which are important and copious, add much to the elucidation of the subject, and her chapter describing the votes on federal laws from 1892 to 1897, *i. e.* from the time, that M. Deploige closes his account up to date, will be much appreciated, as her bibliography will be also, and her successful attempts throughout to bring the topic to the full understanding of the English reader.

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER.

Philadelphia.

A History of the Presidency. By EDWARD STANWOOD. Pp. vi, 586. Price, \$2.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898.

In 1884 was published a "History of Presidential Elections," written by Mr. Stanwood. It was the first successful attempt to collect the national platforms of the various political parties, the records of the presidential nominating conventions, the issues on which presidential campaigns were waged, and the popular and electoral votes cast for candidates for the office of president. The book answered many questions in regard to our political history and met with a steady demand. It was reissued with supplementary chapters at each subsequent presidential campaign. Mr. Stanwood has rewritten and amplified much of the book and it is now reissued under a changed name. It was doubtless advisable to change the title of the book, to indicate the changed character of the contents, but we do not think the new